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The Gift of Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

The Power of Reason

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The Gift of

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

The Power of Reason

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS
BOX 4068, SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
133 EAST 54 STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

"Over and beyond the eating and the sleeping, the mere living and dying one after another, the spirit adds, invents, creates what is better than what was before. We are a thrust upward amid dangers and darknesses of our own making. We have no promise from the universe that we shall survive. We live for the growing of the human spirit, and, in spite of all, we strive toward that growth, up to the last moment of possibility. "

ROBERT REDFIELD

Talk With a Stranger | Center Occasional Paper

The Power of Reason

"To Friends of the Center "Most of you who read this are familiar with what we are trying to do at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. We are striving to see the problems of a revolutionary age in the light of reason. We hope that you will want to take an active interest in our work.

We believe that the rate of change in the modern world has produced a new predicament for man. Greater changes are coming in the future than any we have experienced. This Age of Change may be marked by violence and chaos, or it may be an Age of Reason.

We believe in the power of Reason. In spite of the tragedies of two world wars and the nightmare presence of the Cold War, we believe that man is a reasonable creature. We believe an appeal to Reason may still be heard.

The response to our publications, the tens of thousands of letters we have received, the eagerness of foreign correspondents, educators, jurists, executives, and others to visit the Center, the editorial comments by the press in the United States and other countries, encourage us to feel that there is a growing recognition of the value of a center of independent thought. The fact that the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions has received both official and unofficial invitations for the establishment of affiliated centers in Europe, Latin America, and Asia indicates that thinking people in many countries are interested in such efforts.

We are attempting to do something that is not being done by any university, corporation, church group, government agency, or any other organization in our society. We are examining the major institutions of the twentieth century in the light of their impact on the possibilities for the continued existence of democracy. The Center is committed to the

proposition that democracy is the most just form of government. Self-government can and must endure because it is the only form of rule consistent with the nature of man. The problem is not to figure out alternatives to democracy, but to make it work.

We have engaged in our studies scientists, theologians, publishers, mathematicians, philosophers, politicians, novelists, military commentators, civil servants, businessmen, doctors, lawyers, judges, teachers - men and women from every kind of background. We have ignored the labels of "right-wing" and "left-wing." We have secured the participation of Catholics, Protestants, Jews, secularists, men who call themselves "radicals," and others who regard themselves as "conservatives." We have welcomed a continuing stream of visitors from other countries; more than a hundred came in the last year alone from Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Israel, Australia, Japan, Brazil, Venezuela, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Vietnam, Northern Rhodesia, India, Pakistan, and the Soviet Union.

We have tried to keep before us the principles stated by a distinguished American philosopher: "As we examine the cultural disaster which has overwhelmed our age, its most destructive action seems to be the undermining, the eating away, of the principle of reasonableness in human relations. The demand that men be reasonable, rather than arbitrary or selfish, has been the cornerstone of our civilization. . . . Human beings, we have said, should learn to reason together, should practice a friendliness of the mind. Violence, we have said, is savagery. To be civilized is to be reasonable."

At the headquarters of the Center in Santa Barbara we meet every day to try to carry out these principles—to consider possible ways of maintaining freedom and justice in a clanging, clamoring, bureaucratic, automated society. Out of these continuing conversations comes a steady flow of pamphlets and books (and, recently, tapes) illuminated by the clash of ideas. The later pages of this Report contain brief passages from some of these publications.

In the coming decade the purpose of the Center will be to examine these questions:

- ☐ Can man in this new age control the surge of technology for the good of individual freedom and the general welfare?
- □ Can man prevent total nuclear war which could destroy civilization?
- ☐ Can man provide a more abundant life for all, without crippling losses of individual liberties?
- □ Can man open up the resources of mind and spirit that could raise human life to the highest level of its potentialities?

In specific terms the Center will study and report on the influences on democracy of such twentieth century problems as:

☐ The extraordinary acceleration of technical knowledge and its application (urbanization, unemployment, the changing nature of work, the problems of affluence and the New Leisure, the industrialization of the less privileged nations)

| ☐ The growth of government bureaucracy |
|--|
| and its increasing "professionalism" and spe- |
| cialization vis-à-vis individual rights, the po- |
| litical parties, our system of parliamentary |
| government |
| ☐ The influence of the mass media in rela- |
| tion to the need for an informed electorate |
| ☐ The emergence of formidable concentra- |
| tions of private power in corporations, unions, |
| "voluntary associations" |
| □ The economic problems shared by pri- |
| vate initiative and by government alike in the |
| face of foreign competition, the possibilities |
| of disarmament, the likelihood of increasing |
| welfare services, the demands of the under- |
| developed portions of the world |
| □ The possible conflicts between the re- |
| quirements of the State and the freedoms |
| guaranteed by our Bill of Rights |
| ☐ The prospects for maintaining and im- |
| proving the civil rights of minorities |
| ☐ The kind of educational policies required |
| by a modern industrial state |
| |

- ☐ The moral and ethical standards of the American people
- ☐ The relations between traditional national sovereignty and the trend toward integration represented by such organisms as the European Common Market and the nascent Atlantic Community.

One thing is certain: if informed, intelligent discussion is not possible, democracy is not possible. It is my conviction that every American — and everyone concerned about the survival of freedom — has a stake in the success of the Center's effort to focus the light of reason on the staggering problems we face.

I would be happy to have any comments or questions that occur to you.

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

The Financing of the Center

In order to extend and intensify its program for the next ten years, the Center has inaugurated a fund-raising campaign. It is seeking:

\$10,000,000 for Operating Funds \$10,000,000 for an Endowment Fund

The Center invites your participation in these goals through specific gifts and general contributions.

Gifts to the Operating Fund include support for Basic Issues Studies in the areas described in the previous pages, for Publications, for a Broadcast Library for Radio and Television, for Seminars and Special Conferences, for Scholars-in-Residence, for Distribution of Center Materials to Universities and Libraries.

Gifts to the Endowment Fund are equally important and necessary so that the Center may plan long-range studies and enter commitments for projects covering several years of work.

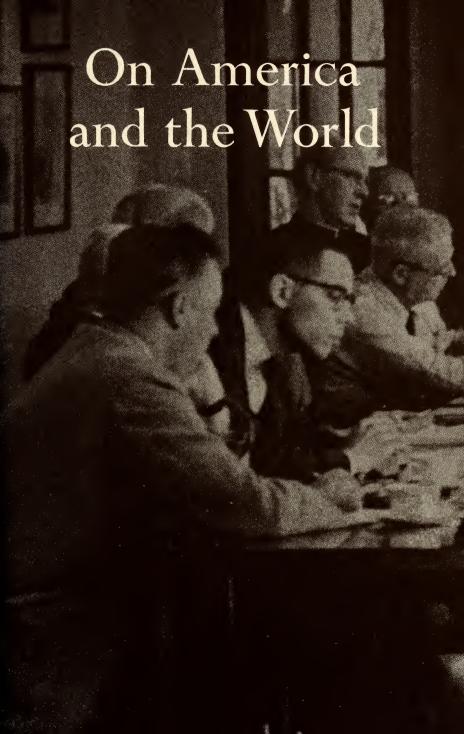
Friends of the Center are also invited to join its group of FOUNDING MEMBERS who subscribe \$1,000 or more each year for general support of the Center's program.

All gifts and grants are deductible from taxable income.

Checks should be made payable and sent to *The Fund for the Republic*, *Inc.*, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California.

Further information on the program and needs of the Center will be gladly provided.

The remaining pages of this Report are given over to brief quotations from some of the Center publications, offered in the hope that they may stimulate further discussion among those who read them. The Center will be glad to provide a free copy of any publication for which a series number is noted after the title (unnumbered titles are out of print). A complete list of current publications is available on request.



» If the United States wants to acquire a position of moral leadership in the world, if the United States wants enough prestige to rally United Nations votes for humanitarian democratic causes in the days ahead, we must become the protagonist of independence for all peoples. There is no growth in democratic traditions unless there is a chance to develop them. There is no opportunity as long as the people do not exercise the franchise. The principle of 'the consent of the governed' is distinctly American and should be our world-wide slogan. «

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

The U.S. and Revolution | Center Occasional Paper #116

"We have to assume that other peoples in the world simply do not have our fortunate, fortunate history. We have got to recognize a world where there is diversity, not one divided into two antagonistic forces in a cold war but a world in which there are many kinds of peoples, with very different cultures. What is good for America is not necessarily going to be good for other people. We cannot export all the values that we ourselves love and cherish. "

C. VANN WOODWARD

The American Character | Center Conversation #701

"The scientist looked into the hell of the bomb long before anybody else did. One of the things that trouble me is that nobody believes us when we predict the hell, and that even the responses we scientists make to the hell, both inside and outside government, are not appropriate to the magnitude of that hell. I think it is obvious now that weapons are completely out of proportion, that they no longer have any function as a continuation of foreign policy. "

HANS BETHE
Science | Center Interview #605

"Civilization has to be rebuilt in every age, just as each of us has to make a new beginning every morning of each day. The very existence of life may depend on our building an edifice of civilization such as never existed before. If industrial society could not have been created without the framework of 'civilization,' it can hardly endure save within the framework of a better civilization that remains to be created. "

JOHN NEF Civilization, Industrial Society, and Love Center Occasional Paper #118 » We witness in this half of the century a great emergence of new nations. They are weak, inexperienced, fragile. If independence is to be kept, as well as achieved, they must have a refuge, a sanctuary where they can feel secure. The United Nations satisfies that craving for security. «

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

The Rule of Law in World Affairs | Center Pamphlet included in the book A World Without War (Washington Square Press)

» A world from which organized war has been excluded would not be an easy one, and it would raise threats to various groups, economic interests, ideals, and convictions which may well seem greater than the (still almost unimaginable) threat presented to all by a continuance of the war system itself. But it would be a viable world; it would meet the needs of people for both order and change at least as well as the present world appears to do, and hopefully a great deal better. «

WALTER MILLIS

A World Without War | Center Pamphlet included in the book A World Without War (Washington Square Press)

» If we have not yet learned how to combat poverty, disease, and ignorance in our own country, how can we expect to carry the fight to Bolivia and Ceylon, to Ghana and Outer Mongolia? The answer is that we can, and we must. «

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

The Nurture of Human Life | Center Bulletin

» Living in this terrible situation, living in this hell really, and finding no way out of the hell by abstract principles of law or abstract principles of world government, I think we will get to some universal government partly through building up the United Nations and partly through Russian and American partnership. Now the guestion is: How is this partnership going to have a moral foundation? The Russians don't believe in the moral law as we understand it. I think that is a moral obscuring of the very pressing historical needs of our day. The historical need is some kind of political life, some kind of political agreement, which must be built up ultimately in some kind of community, and that community must have some kind of moral principles. The moral principles must maximize what is common to us and to the Russians—and there is something common. «

REINHOLD NIEBUHR
Two Faces of Federalism | Center Pamphlet #12

» An armaments race that may end in war is bad enough. But an armaments race that seems already to have ended in absurdity is vastly worse, because what is militarily absurd is irredeemably immoral. «

JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S.J. Foreign Policy and the Free Society Center Book (Oceana Publications)

» On trips to Asia I often asked men in their thirties and forties what they were reading when they were eighteen. They usually answered 'Karl Marx'; and when I asked them why, they replied, 'We were under colonial rule, seeking a way out. We wanted our independence. To get it we had to make revolution. The only books on revolution were published by the Communists.' These men almost invariably had repudiated colonialism as a political cult, retaining, however, a tinge of socialism. As I talked with them, I came to realize the great opportunities we missed when we became preoccupied in fighting communism with bombs and with dollars, rather than with ideas of revolution, of freedom, of justice. «

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

The U.S. and Revolution | Center Occasional Paper #116

" The time is past when talk of 'preventive' war could be rationalized. Yet the war machine gathers strength, and serious consideration of its diminution or dismantling is rare and often timid. Once the people are convinced that they can survive the present state of the art of killing, a broad and significant new habit pattern will have been introduced and accepted, one grotesquely different from any we have known for thousands of years—that of adjusting ourselves to the idea of living in holes. From that time onward it will be simple to adjust ourselves to living in deeper holes. Tens of thousands of years ago our Mousterian and Aurignacian ancestors lived in caves. The vast knowledge which we have accumulated during the intervening millennia will have brought us full cycle. The epic of man's journey upward into the light will have ended. «

HARRISON BROWN AND JAMES REAL

Community of Fear | Center Pamphlet included in the book

A World Without War (Washington Square Press)

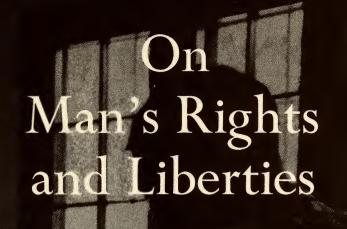
» The eighteenth century revolted against aristocratic monarchs. The nineteenth century revolted against the inequities and excesses of the industrialization process. But the twentieth century is in revolution for Americanism: for what America is, not for what America remembers. The American revolutionary tradition must not be abandoned. Rather, it must become flexible enough—revolutionary enough—to keep up with what has become of our own revolution. America must realize that there may be 'more than one revolutionary path' to Americanism. And she must realize that in the twentieth century her traditional form of revolution is not one of them. «

HARVEY WHEELER The U.S. and Revolution | Center Occasional Paper #116

» The arrival of disarmament and the end of war would not of course mean the advent of peace in the sense that there would be a disappearance of conflict. Great antagonisms would persist. Disputes would continue; nations would press their claims for justice. Clash and conflict are present in every community. We have in truth the sturdy roots of a rule of law, including a few of the procedures which human ingenuity has devised for resolving disputes, including conciliation and mediation, arbitration, administrative settlement, and judicial determination. The rule of law is versatile and creative. It can devise new remedies to fit international needs as they may arise. The rule of law has at long last become indispensable for men as well as for nations. It is our only alternative to mass destruction. «

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

The Rule of Law in World Affairs | Center Pamphlet included in the book A World Without War (Washington Square Press)



"The passion for justice as the political end must be supported and nourished by something deeper. I would say that this is a passionate conviction about the equality of man. Equality is the basis of justice. If I do not have this sense of the uniqueness of each human personality and the basic equality of man before God and also before the law and vis-à-vis the processes of society, my political passion for justice may be a very wavering thing. "

» There has been a corrosive effect on white America's mental health as a result of evading the problem of race discrimination for three hundred years. What does this say about the present state of American mental health, and what bearing does this deep-seated guilt and this deep-seated fear have on the American character? «

WILLIAM WORTHY
The American Character | Center Conversation #701

» The Negro in America is not a part of the American society. This is the greatest single crime that the American people have ever committed, and one of the greatest crimes that any people has ever committed. «

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

The Political Animal | Center Conversation #702

" We need to take a pretty thorough look at the forces that are closing in on us here in this country in terms of the power of government. It is shocking to me that the government can tap wires. I think we need some kinds of new guarantees against the powerful police atmosphere in which we live. The appropriation of the FBI is over twice the annual appropriation of the entire federal court system. That is just a straw in the wind, a reflection of the things that are happening to people who are unpopular. I think there has to be a great strengthening of opportunities for individual activity. Otherwise, we will produce no eccentrics. I do not know of any salvation for society except through eccentrics, misfits, dissenters, people who protest. «

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Two Faces of Federalism | Center Pamphlet #12

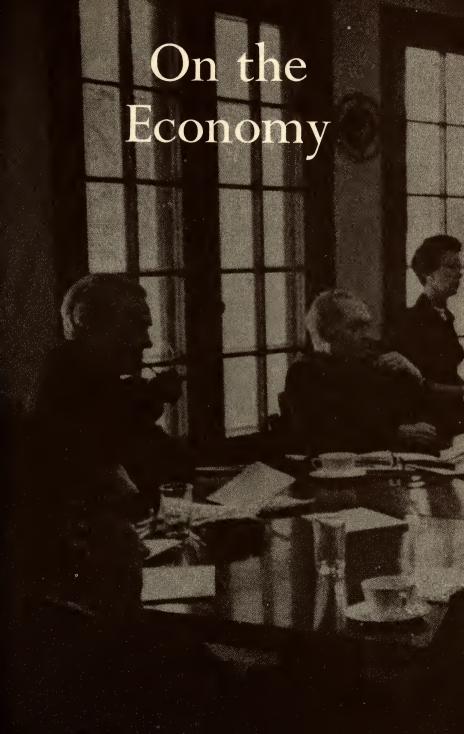
» I know some people would say about the Rightists what some other people say about Russia, that they are stinging us into a kind of life, they're gadflies in the sense that Socrates was. They are making us stand to our colors a bit, making us ask ourselves whether we really believe in free speech among other things, and whether we want them to be allowed to talk. This is a pretty good test of how closely we hold to our principles, it seems to me. I'm not sure that the Birch Society is a bad thing in this sense. If we haven't got a better answer than we seem to have, then the Birchites had better talk; we'd better have a lot of people talking, and making us all talk better than we have been. «

SCOTT BUCHANAN
On Revolution | Center Conversation #703

» Certainly conformity to the precise words of the laws and the Constitution is not enough. It is well to remember that Hitler was called Adolf Légalité. Everything he did, like everything that is being done in South Africa, was strictly according to law. Critics of President Eisenhower were correct in saying that his defense of the desegregation decision was ineffectual. He should have said not merely that the decision was the law of the land, but also that it was based on reason, right, and justice. «

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS American Character Conference Speech » I subscribe to the belief that there is no progress possible anywhere where the differences of people are stifled, their voices are not able to be heard, and where they all speak as one voice, when all of us know that human beings don't feel that way. «

HUGO J. BLACK American Character Conference Speech



» Whether or not men can be manipulated, most men believe that attempts are being made, through law and politics, to manipulate them. After all, there are techniques of manipulating everything else. We are all built into the technical system, as cogs in the machine and as an automatic claque. The more incomprehensible the achievements of technology become, the more enthusiasm they arouse. Yet it appears that they may endanger freedom, justice, law, democracy, and even capitalism itself. Technology holds out the hope that men can actually achieve at last goals toward which they have been struggling since the dawn of history. But a rich, healthy, workless world peopled by biomechanical links is an inhuman world. The prospects of humanity turn upon its ability to find the law that will direct technology to human uses. «

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

Two Faces of Federalism | Center Pamphlet #12

" Work occupies fewer hours and years in the lives of everyone; what work there is grows less like work every year, and the less the people work, the more their product grows. "

» There is every reason to believe that within the next two decades machines will be available outside the laboratory that will do a credible job of original thinking, certainly as good thinking as that expected of most middle-level people who are supposed to 'use their minds.' There is no basis for knowing where this process will stop, nor is there any comfort in the assertion that, since man built the machine, he will always be smarter or more capable than it is. The capabilities and potentialities of these devices are unlimited. They contain extraordinary implications for the emancipation or enslavement of mankind. «

DONALD N. MICHAEL

Cybernation | Center Report #209

» Management of machines for human ends, not management by them, is the true object of industrial civilization. «

W. H. FERRY

Caught on the Horn of Plenty | Center Bulletin #512

» Welfare plans are probably the single greatest contribution of the American trade unions to the philosophy of world labor. The problem is how to continue the many positive benefits of the welfare funds and protect them from the fumbling of the fool and the grasp of the greedy. «

» Ultimately, technology may force America to adopt a different set of axioms, based on an understanding that the acceptance of technology does not mean an unquestioning acceptance of its uses, products, and results. Society must judge technology not only by what it brings in benefits of efficiency but also by the social costs, both hidden and open, that inevitably must be paid. If we do not develop standards beyond the single one of efficiency for judging technological change, if we do not create new jobs by devising new economic instruments, and if we do not create new theories of industrial justice for the technological dilemmas of the twentieth century, only two alternatives may be open in the twenty-first century: either there will be so few jobs available that only an élite will be allowed to work while the remainder of society consumes, or the practice of 'unwork' will need to spread. «

PAUL JACOBS

Dead Horse and the Featherbird | Center Report #212

» Not only do 500 corporations control twothirds of the non-farm economy but within each of that 500 a still smaller group has the ultimate decision-making power. This is, I think, the highest concentration of economic power in recorded history. Since the United States carries on not quite half of the manufacturing production of the entire world today, these 500 groupings represent a concentration of power over economics which makes the medieval feudal system look like a Sunday School party. I believe that we must try to work with the system. I believe it is the content rather than the form that matters. This power can enslave us beyond present belief, or perhaps set us free beyond present imagination. We have to accept this power situation as, let us call it, a neutral mechanism subject to the control of the body politic as long as we keep it subject to that control. «

A. A. BERLE, JR. Economic Power and the Free Society | Center Pamphlet #2

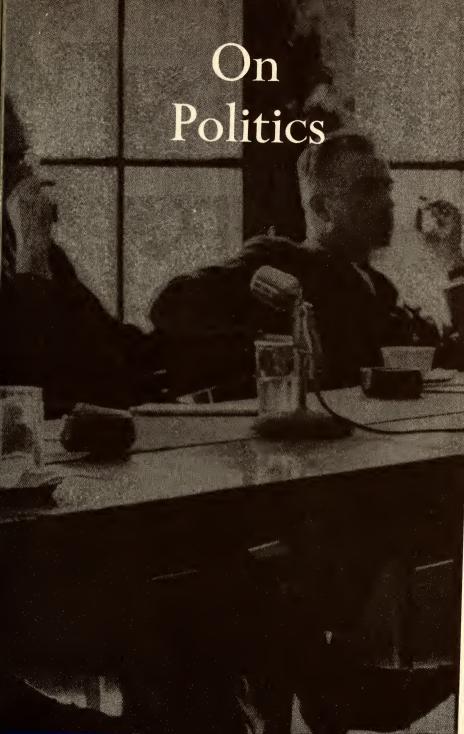
"The anomaly of the day is that the opponents of trade unions are seeking to restrain the economic and political activities of unions at a time when their growth has been halted. Many individual unions are shrinking in size, and the membership of the total movement has declined. The proportion of union members in the total work force has also gone down. Lassitude has overtaken the trade union movement itself. "

SOLOMON BARKIN The Decline of the Labor Movement | Center Report #208

» Men can modernize their political apparatus and can consciously control their political and economic destinies. The machinery for effective political participation on a wider basis than ever before can be invented. Democracy is not senescent but in an early stage. Freedom, justice, and the general welfare cannot be regarded as the accidental benefits or by-products of a political economy; the political economy should therefore be directed to their attainment. To bring the economic order under the political order, a new theory of government is necessary. "

"The builders and bankers of the new suburbs will tell you that the ownership of one out of six homes there turns over every year. Plainly, the so-called home-owner is buying not a home but a housing service, much as he buys transportation, not a car, from the auto industry. His equity in these two utilities rarely controls before he turns in the old house or car for the new model. The objects themselves are self-consuming, designed for depreciation to desuetude in 1,000 hours of service. " » Since unions are an important element in our pluralistic society, their effective functioning is a contribution to the national welfare. As an element of a democratic society, they should be responsive to their members. As an element of a society founded on the significance of the individual, they should contribute to his freedom. 'More, more, more—and now' is no longer enough. "

CLARK KERR
Unions and Union Leaders of Their Own Choosing
Center Pamphlet #3



» Surely this is the ultimate ethical postulate in a democracy: not that man is good, but that he is capable of good; not that he is free from corruption, but that he is desperately sick of it; not that he has fashioned the good society, but that he has caught an unforgettable glimpse of it. Ultimately the ethical problems of the elected political executive are what they are for all human beings: the struggle to discover ends and means which heighten man's sense of individual worth in an ever more extensive and inclusive community. «

» Most Americans do not actively participate in politics. Most Americans, except for occasional bursts of reform spirit, have been willing to permit their governments to be operated in a slovenly and irrational fashion which they would not dream of tolerating in any field in which they considered themselves to be personally concerned. Party politics has remained in the popular mind as well as in the opinion of most intellectuals a necessary evil at best. But the party system has served both the individual and the nation well, and perhaps the time has come for it to be admitted with them to the court of ideological respectability. It is available to anyone who will use it. The party boss may appear a formidable figure, but he is only as strong as he is permitted to be by the failure of citizens to express their will through participation in organized politics. «

JAMES REICHLEY
The Art of Government | Center Report

» One of the best things that could happen in this country would be to limit the terms of Senators and Representatives and at the same time to divide what is administrative in their work from what is policy-making. Our colleges are beginning to train skilled government administrators. The job of the Congressman, then, would be limited to the area of policy-making, education, and other aspects of leadership. This plan would attract far abler people if they knew their service as a Senator would be limited to, say, one six-year term, or two at the most; and if Representatives were limited to four years in the House. Many able persons do not wish to make politics a career but they would be willing to sacrifice four or six years from their work as doctors or lawyers or educators in order to serve their country. «

GEORGE GALLUP
Opinion Polls | Center Interview #604

» When one testifies before a Congressional committee one often has the impression that the purpose of the hearing is not to search out the facts and then reason a solution, but that the solution has been determined and the hearing will now put such facts on the record as will support the solution. One might say they are not gathering facts but arguments for their position. «

HANS BETHE
Science | Center Interview #605

» Most venality in public life could be abolished or reduced to insignificance if the public would assume responsibility for broadly-based campaign financing and would insist upon the public auditing and disclosure of all campaign gifts and expenditures. Our present method of financing political campaigns is, in my estimation, the single most corrupting factor in our political life—local, national, and especially, state. «

» Concentration on the political education of the worker would not only keep labor politics on a high plane but also revolutionize American politics, by teaching millions of voters that politics is a struggle of ideas and ideals and not just a contest among labels, faces, names, and prejudices. «

» Far too many cases come from the states to the Supreme Court presenting dismal pictures of official lawlessness, of illegal searches and seizures, illegal detentions attended by prolonged interrogation and coerced admissions of guilt, of the denial of counsel, and of downright brutality. Judicial self-restraint which defers too much to the sovereign powers of the states and reserves judicial intervention for only the most revolting cases will not serve to enhance Madison's priceless gift of 'the great rights of mankind secured under this Constitution.' For these secure the only climate in which the law of freedom can exist. «

> WILLIAM J. BRENNAN, JR. The Bill of Rights and the States Center Pamphlet #17

"It is not within the power of business to reform itself. The churches never reformed themselves. Schools never reform themselves. Reform and revolution are always the prerogative of the amateur on the outside, and this must happen here too. The changes required in society can only be carried out by the citizenry as a whole, not by the vested interests that have a stake in the status quo. "

ROBERT GORDIS

The American Character | Center Conversation #701

» Scientists who advocate development of weapons without restraint find a very ready public, while those who warn against the dangers of an unlimited arms race find a very hostile reception from many members of the Washington community. This does not go for the leaders of government. Things are all right generally at the high level, but they are very far from all right at the lower levels, and it is the lower levels generally that influence the public through the press. «

HANS BETHE
Science | Center Interview #605

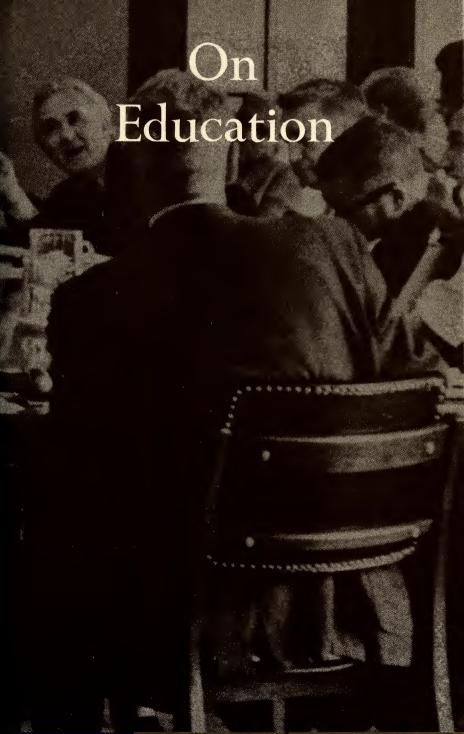
» Have we assumed the wisdom of the people as a theoretical basis for a democracy or not? Isn't it true that the construction of our Constitution and the implied powers that go with it are such that they precisely adduce and refine and develop a wisdom of the people? Instead of going to an élite or to the university or to a religion for this particular thing, you depend on the political process of persuasion. The federal system of checks and balances is to allow the persuasive process and the dialectic education to take place. «

SCOTT BUCHANAN
The Economy Under Law | Center Pamphlet #11

» Power may corrupt, but it also can ennoble. The sense that you, and the office you hold, are widely valued often creates a heightened sense of responsibility, a desire to live close to the public expectation, a wish to become a kind of community example. Too few people appreciate the ennobling effect of public office. «

STEPHEN K. BAILEY

Ethics and the Politician | Center Occasional Paper #114



" We have come to the conclusion that only about 10 per cent of the American people exhibit any noticeable degree of political activity. An astonishing number say they never speak up at a public meeting, even if they feel strongly about something. And they are perfectly content to admit it; in fact they think it is a virtue. I know how to keep my mouth shut,' they say. But political activity is improving, particularly as more and more people get an education. Education is the key to so many things today. You find, for example, far less intolerance among the educated than among the uneducated. «

ELMO ROPER
Opinion Polls | Center Interview #604

» If the educational system is one like that of the United States, in which the object is not education but accommodation and vocational certification, if the media of mass communications are not a means by which the people may understand their public affairs but are media of entertainment, then it must follow that the educational process that I regard as identical with democracy cannot take place. «

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

The Political Animal | Center Conversation #702

» I am very much disturbed that in 56 per cent of American high schools there is not a single foreign language offered, at a time when we should be turning into the great linguists of the world. I don't know of any other way for us to get on the same wave length with the peoples of the world except by knowing their cultures, and having people in our communities and on our university faculties who can interpret these societies to us. Of the sixty-eight major languages of the world, there are forty we are not yet fully equipped to teach. I think we need some big, broad, national planning at this level. «

» The whole teacher-training curriculum has been frozen into law in many states. There are certification requirements, and if you will examine them you will find that many are the icicles of the old system of pedagogy. And behind these laws stands a militant organization with branches in every state and elaborate headquarters in Washington. The solution to the problem of an adequate number of properly trained, competent teachers in the universities lies first in the change of the curriculum for the training of high school teachers. «

A. WHITNEY GRISWOLD

The University | Center Interview #602

» We must look at the past not only because it shows us how finite we are, what creatures of our determinations, but because we are also responsible agents in history and we must study the past to free ourselves for the future. We must know the past, and then we must not be preoccupied with it. «

> REINHOLD NIEBUHR American Character Conference Speech

"The object of educators ought to be to get the people a good education. But one of the unfortunate results of the extreme specialization of education in the United States today is that there is nobody who is concerned with education as a whole. Who is there that is saying, let us get ourselves the kind of education that Americans ought to have? "

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

The Political Animal | Center Conversation #702

» The modern medical school is really not much different from the veterinary school. It could, for the most part, just as well have the horse for its subject. There are only a few medical schools in the country that give a course in how to communicate with patients, for instance. I know of only one school that gives a course on the philosophy of medicine. Hardly any medical schools have a satisfactory course on medical ethics, and this is what every medical school should be doing with great advantage to the performance and to the public image of the physician. «

HERBERT RATNER, M.D.

Medicine | Center Interview #608

» Politics is not and never can be a science. The human race is not that logical or inert or controllable. Politics is an art, one that has been called the art of the possible. The best possible preparation for the practice of this art is, in my opinion, a good, sound liberal education given relevance to world affairs by taking the world for its province as it ought to do anyway. «

A. WHITNEY GRISWOLD

The University | Center Interview #602

"The demands of this new world are first of all demands that we think, and learn. We face them ill prepared. Our educational system is not unfairly characterized by reference to the course in family living in the high school of Lockport, N. Y. The last unit of this course is called, 'How to be Livable, Lovable, and Datable.' "

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
American Character Conference Speech

On Communications

» What is important is the diffusion of information and of opinion to the public, to the electorate. Democracy is based on the capacity of the individual citizen to make intelligent decisions. Without that capacity democracy fails, and we have seen it fail in countries where the citizenry lacked that capacity. The important thing is that adequate presentations be made to serve the interest of the radio and TV listener and the public. That's the only thing that counts. Whether or not any given speaker is permitted to talk has a major impact, not on the speaker, but on the public. The public is the one that is injured. «

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY

Broadcasting and Government Regulation in a Free Society

Center Occasional Paper #110

» Even when the effects of the mass media are not positively malign, their stereotyping of the human family into stock figures without the fullness of human peculiarity and emotional range leaves the mass audience with an impoverished, shallow, ultimately betraying conception of the real world. «

» There is no diversity in American television as there is in a book store, record shop, or newsstand. The basic problem is the small number of channels available, and here is where the government has been at fault. It has not moved ahead fast enough to open up new channels, to get the industry away from this whole scarcity philosophy and to open up UHF channels throughout the country. There's almost no limit to the diversity you could achieve if all seventy UHF channels were activated. The industry has never made any real effort to get that going. I think that ultimately all television should be moved to UHF where everybody will be on a technical parity. «

JACK GOULD

Television | Center Interview #601

» Commercial television will hold little inducement for the writer until he is given the power which is his right: the power to determine what he shall write about, how he shall write it, and where it may be interrupted. A medium in which a commercial is sacred while a script is infinitely violable cannot pretend to develop an art form of its own. «

MARYA MANNES

The Relation of the Writer to Television
Center Occasional Paper #113

» I think here is basically the weakness of the leadership in broadcasting: they're not really putting out the kind of network programs they would like to put out. They're just putting out what is economically feasible. It seems to me that this is the real test of their free enterprise method—does it just have to drift, does it have to keep drifting downward? Must the only goal be the getting of large audiences and making more money? Are they going to express, at some point, real leadership? «

» When I was on the Federal Communications Commission, the broadcasters would come in with polls and say, 'We're giving the people what they like.' Well, if you ask a Chinese coolie whether he likes rice, he'll say 'Yes,' but he doesn't know how well he likes rice until you give him a good piece of beefsteak. So the questions about what people want are generally answered in terms of what they are already getting. "

CLIFFORD J. DURR

Broadcasting and Government Regulation in a Free Society
Center Occasional Paper #110

» The responsibility of the newspapers – more than ever before in my life-is to explain what the issues in the world are. And yet at the same time there seems to be a trend for the newspapers to become only commercial enterprises. There are exceptions, of course. But I think some publishers think that it doesn't make much difference what a paper says as long as the balance sheet is all right. Well, it makes a great deal of difference what the paper says; it does to me and I think it should to the American people. If newspapers are going to survive they're going to survive because they are vital factors in the life of our society and in the lives of their readers. «

MARK ETHRIDGE
The Press | Center Interview #603

On Man and Democracy

» Americans of the mid-twentieth century must, insofar as it is possible, know where they are going and they must know why. The passing surface of events is always moved by deeper currents and these must be analyzed and understood and even, if necessary, redirected. This is the chasm that separates us from the world that is slave, this conviction that man is master of history not its victim. We can set the foundations for an ideology of man and society in which the greatest capacities of the human spirit will be realized. This is a great task, and, if we never see its end, it will still have been worthwhile beginning. «

FRANCIS J. LALLY

The Survival of the Free Society | Center Bulletin

"The American people have lost three or four idols in the last decade or two. One is the belief in Mammon. We have lost our faith in that because even though we are now a wealthy country it does not solve all our problems. Second, we have lost our faith in the omnipotence of science. It has become clear that with enough technology we can now blow ourselves to hell. A third secular faith the American people have lost is the belief that their unique and manifest destiny has been to be the new, chosen Israel of contemporary history. The loss of these three idolatries is a basic factor in explaining the revitalization of genuine religious faith. «

ROBERT E. FITCH
Religion | Center Interview #612

" We are all involved in mankind and simply cannot take the kind of Olympian view of our country, our culture, our tradition, that habitually refers to 'they' and never to 'we.' "

"We may like the government or not—but we tend to insist that we have nothing to do with it. We react to it; we deny that we have helped create it. We deny our duty to influence it. Government is looked upon as a thing apart from the individual citizen and his character. I say no. I say I have to face the fact that if the American educational system has failed, I have failed. If our civil rights system is failing, then I as a citizen have failed. We all must bear a part of the guilt. "

» We have an overwhelming need to break with certain prejudices. The first is that human nature is incapable of improvement and that the visions of perfection which religious prophets have had are impractical, that attempts to realize them do the human race more harm than good. The second prejudice, which is closely related to the first, is that ideals must be adjusted to human nature at its most mediocre, if not its most base. If we are to reach into the most precious realm of the inner lives of human persons, it is upon conduct under the guidance of art, of faith, and of wisdom that each of us must depend. «

> JOHN NEF Civilization, Industrial Society, and Love Center Occasional Paper #118

» It is now possible to say that the judgment of the people has often been wiser than the judgment of Congressmen or even of the experts. For one thing, the public has no axes to grind. Pressure groups aren't at work on the general public, as they are on legislators. I would be the last to say that the voice of the people is the voice of God. But I do say that there have been very few instances in the last twenty-six years when the public was clearly in the wrong on an issue. The factors that are the long-term influences on opinion in this country are education, social and economic background, and religion. Those are the great constants. People's basic attitudes change very little. «

GEORGE GALLUP
Opinion Polls | Center Interview #604

» If one thing is clear it is that the idea of government as a policeman, referee, nightwatchman, or competitor with other forces is dead, and that the idea that all we need to ask about government is how we protect ourselves against it is deader still. This is as it should be. The world we are living in is totally new. Since the world is totally new, and since it has become so overnight, our ideas are obsolete or obsolescent. In every aspect of our lives, we are living without theory, or, what is worse, we are living on the debris of outworn or disproved theory. Our minds are like attics filled with abandoned and useless furniture. «

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

The Nurture of Human Life | Center Bulletin

» The problem for the churches and synagogues of America is exemplified in the tendency to think of religion itself in terms of 'usefulness' and 'service' to the community or the contribution faith can make toward guaranteeing personal 'peace of mind.' Like almost everything else, religion in America is valued for services rendered.«

» America is the most over-medicated, most over-operated, and most over-inoculated country in the world. It is also the most anxiety-ridden country with regard to health. We are the wealthiest country in the world – yet one of the unhealthiest countries in the world. We are flabby, overweight, and have a lot of dental caries, fluoridation notwithstanding. Our gastrointestinal system operates like a sputtering gas engine. We can't sleep; we can't get going when we are awake. We have neuroses; we have high blood pressure. Neither our hearts nor our heads last as long as they should. Coronary disease at the peak of life has hit epidemic proportions. Suicide is one of the leading causes of death (fourth between the ages of 15 and 44). We suffer from a plethora of the diseases of civilization. «

HERBERT RATNER, M.D.

Medicine | Center Interview #608

» It is amply clear that man can in principle create a wonderful world – a world in which people can lead free and abundant lives. But I fear that so powerful are the forces which operate in favor of increased organization and integration that we ourselves may drift into a form of totalitarianism without realizing it. We can, if we don't watch ourselves, permit our country to become a glorified ant-hill. I do not, however, believe that this end result is inevitable. And here I take refuge in a statement which was once made by the great Disraeli. 'Circumstances,' he said, 'are beyond the control of man. But his conduct is in his own power.' «

HARRISON BROWN

The Survival of the Free Society | Center Bulletin

» The intellectual element must always be basic to a society. The moral element is essential, integral, indispensable, but not enough. When you have only moral motivation for social action, it may tire very early in the fight. When Edna St. Vincent Millay writes that there is no man dies in Capri but she dies, too, she may be talking sentimental rubbish unless her moral idealism is firmly rooted in a philosophy or dogma concerning man and, indeed, death. The very nature of the human beast requires that in the last analysis we be moved to action by ideas, not by codes. It is not enough that noblesse oblige, unless those obliged have clear ideas of why noblesse obliges and of what noblesse is. «

JOHN J. WRIGHT

Religion | Center Interview #612

» It is possible that we are entering a kind of non-political era. I would say this is implicit in the way many people are living and talking at the present moment. There is a widespread feeling, right or wrong, that there is little or nothing you can do about public issues, or little or nothing that is certainly good. People seem to feel, something has to be done, but let somebody else do it, and don't let it get into my real concerns as an individual, this little enclave I have built for myself. The books that have been very popular in post-war America, books like The Lonely Crowd, The Organization Man, or Salinger's fiction—as far as I can see, the only kind that really means anything to the people in their twenties or thirties—these books have only one theme, the overwhelming and oppressive system, and how in the name of God do I get away from it. «

ERIC F. GOLDMAN

Two Faces of Federalism | Center Pamphlet #12

» America's experiment with government of the people, by the people, and for the people depends not only on constitutional structure and organization but also on the commitment, person to person, that we make to each other. « "The Founding Fathers meant us to learn. The reliance on us to continue learning is evident in every line of the Constitution and in the brevity of the whole. The Constitution is to be interpreted, therefore, as a charter of learning. We are to learn how to develop the seeds the Fathers planted under the conditions of our own time. This political botany means that nothing we have learned and no process of learning could be unconstitutional. What would be unconstitutional would be limitations or inhibitions on learning. "

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS American Character Conference Speech "What is growth — is it getting bigger or getting better? What is a good standard of living, more things to consume or better things to appreciate and discriminate? Which is the better use of the moon: to hit it with a rocket or just to look at it? Where are the frontiers of human enterprise? Should people build and pioneer always outward or sometimes inward? "

ROBERT REDFIELD

Talk With a Stranger | Center Occasional Paper

» We have to continue to search for knowledge, but we see now that knowledge without wisdom has brought us to the edge of destruction and may at any time push us over the brink. The road to wisdom is candid and intrepid thinking about fundamental issues with a view to action in the here and now. We have to recapture, revitalize, and reinterpret the great ideas or ideals that animated those who laid the foundations of our democratic institutions. In this way we Americans may become competent to rise to the height of our times. In this way we may hope to form a more perfect union in America and in the world. Candid, intrepid thinking about fundamental issues with a view to action is the object of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. «

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

Prospects for Democracy | Symposium Talk

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